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A STUDY OF MATTHEW ARNOLD.

II. FORMATIVE INFLUENCES: THE INFLUENCE OF GOETHE.

I.

PROF. SAINTSBURY has said that Arnold's style "is a blending of the old Oxford academic style with French persiflage." He explains, moreover,¹ that the old Oxford academic style was written by Newman before the latter left the Anglican Church, by Dr. Arnold and by a number of other Oxford men as far back as Lockhart. The remark is suggestive, and there certainly appears to be a similarity of flavor between Newman's earlier style and Arnold's. Yet, if nothing more tangible can be made of this similarity—and it seems impossible to go beyond a mere perception of it—it may be dismissed without further discussion.

In speaking of the influence of French prose upon Arnold's style we are treading upon firmer ground, since we have Arnold himself to guide us. In the essay on the "Literary Influence of Academies," having quoted a passage from Jeremy Taylor, he says: "That passage has been much admired, and, indeed, the genius in it is undeniable. I should say, for my part, that genius, the ruling divinity of poetry, has been too busy in it, and intelligence, the ruling divinity of prose, not busy enough. But can any one, with the best models of style in his head, help feeling the note of provinciality there, the want of simplicity, the want of measure, the want of just the qualities that make prose classical?"²

Then follows, as an example of classical prose, a passage from Bossuet. Farther in the essay we have a description of three styles, which Arnold calls the Corinthian, the Asiatic, and the Attic. Speaking of the Corinthian style, he says: "It has not the warm glow, blithe movement, and soft pliancy

¹ In a letter to Prof. L. M. Harris, of the College of Charleston.

² *Essays in Criticism*, Vol. II., p. 62.

of life, as the Attic style has; it has not the overheavy richness and encumbered gait of the Asiatic style; it has glitter without warmth, rapidity without ease, effectiveness without charm."³ Now, "the power of French literature is in its prose writers."⁴ They wrote in the Attic style—Bossuet, for instance; but also Fénelon and Pascal, La Bruyère and Vauvenargues. In English there are isolated examples of Attic prose, such as Addison's. So Arnold, whose lifelong study of French literature is evident, seems to have purposely set himself to acquire the Attic style of the great French prose writers. This, it is well to repeat, he opposes above all to the Asiatic style, which has been used by many of the greatest English writers and which includes styles differing as widely from each other as Burke's and Ruskin's.

If, then, Arnold formed his style upon French models, let us see what an eminent French critic whom he admired, and whom he helped to introduce to the English public, has to say of his style. Edmond Sherer says:

M. Arnold est un charmant écrivain. Il a la clarté limpide et la bonne grâce. On ne le prend jamais en flagrant délit d'attitude prise, de tour ambitieux. C'est un repos d'ouvrir ses livres lorsqu'on vient de lire ceux des grands manniéristes dont s'en orgueille si à tort la littérature de nos voisins: Carlyle au jargon conscient, voulu, calculé; Ruskin et ses affectations de profondeur, sa laborieuse recherche d'expression, toutes ses poses études d'un charlatanisme qu'on regret de voir allié parfois à un mérite réel, et qui constituent un péché contre le vrai sérieux et le grand goût.⁵

Matthew Arnold [says Sherer elsewhere] had probably as many ideas in his head as Carlyle, and as much poetry in his soul as Ruskin; but he did not on that account consider himself obliged to speak like a mystagogue.⁶

In this extract from Sherer a distinction is drawn, somewhat similar to Arnold's, between the Attic style and the Asiatic, and Arnold is represented as possessing an Attic style.

Now, when we attempt to characterize Arnold's style as a whole, we will find ourselves irresistibly drawn to his own description of the Attic style, which, as we have seen, has

³ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁵ *Études*, Vol. VII, p. 5.

⁶ Quoted in *New Studies*, E. Dowden, p. 360.

"warm glow, blithe movement, and the soft pliancy of life;" to which we may well add the qualities noted by Sherer, limpid clearness and fine gracefulness. One exception only can be taken to this description, that a warm glow is not always present in Arnold's style; it comes to life only when Arnold drops his almost habitual restraint, which is a chief quality of his prose as well as of his poetry. And he does this not infrequently. It is not enough to mention as examples the lecture on Emerson and the essay on George Sand, for in many other places Arnold's quiet, unemotional style swells to sweet and sonorous cadences of mournful grace. A few of these passages may be given.

Steeped in sentiment as she [Oxford] lies, spreading her gardens to the moonlight, and whispering from her towers the last enchantment of the Middle Age, who will deny that Oxford, by her ineffable charm, keeps ever calling us nearer to the true goal of all of us, to the ideal, to perfection, to beauty, in a word, which is only truth seen from another side?⁷

One other passage, the final in the essay on Marcus Aurelius:

We see him wise, just, self-governed, tender, thankful, blameless, yet with all this agitated, stretching out his arms for something beyond—"tendentemgne manus ripæ ulterioris amore."⁸

II.

Even a casual reader of Arnold's works will be struck by the very great number of references to Goethe which occur in them. And even without examining these references in detail, a strong impression will be gained that, not only in matters of opinion but also in matters of literary form, Goethe was Arnold's master. This impression will rise to a certainty if we consider carefully the references to Goethe and the quotations from his recorded conversations and from his writings which are scattered throughout Arnold's works. In a letter dated in the year 1848 Arnold says: "Wordsworth and Goethe are the two moderns I most care for." In the frequent lists of his reading the name of Goethe is never omitted, and in "The Strayed Reveler and Other Poems," pub-

⁷ *Essays in Criticism*, Vol. I., p. 11. ⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 379.

lished in the same year, the influence of this reading is visible. It appears in the meter of a poem, that gave its title to the volume, and in the meter of "Consolation." This meter, which, so far as I know, does not occur before Arnold in English poetry, is identical with one used by Goethe in some of his best-known poems. Certain movements in "Consolation" are certainly imitated from Goethe's "Grenzen der Menschheit."

Mist clogs the sunshine	Wenn der Uralte
Smoky dwarf houses	Heilige Vater
Hem me round everywhere	Mit gelassener Hand
A vague dejection	Aus rollenden Wolken
Weighs down my soul.	Segnende Blitze.
Yet while I languish	Ueber die Erde saet,
Everywhere countless	Kuess ich den letzten
Prospects unroll themselves	Saum seines Kleides
And countless beings	Kindliche Schauer
Pass countless moods.	Treu in der Brust.

The movement in these two passages, especially in lines 1, 2, 7, 9, and 10, is sufficiently similar to exhibit the direct imitation. In variations of this meter Arnold wrote eleven poems.

In the following four years we again find Arnold reading Goethe's works, his biography, and his letters to Lavater and Frau von Stein. But it is not until 1853 that the influence of Goethe appears in full force. The preface to the poems of that year gives evidence of a reading of the book which, in this connection, exerted the very greatest influence on Arnold, Eckermann's "Conversations with Goethe." Of about forty-five references to Goethe which, either with or without direct quotation, occur in Arnold's writings, eighteen quotations are from Eckermann. These, moreover, are the only ones which are significant in regard to Goethe's influence upon Arnold. In Eckermann, likewise, certain distinct passages are to be found which, without quoting, Arnold seems to have had in mind. Of the two groups, we give, first, the direct quotations, then the parallel passages, in chronological order.

In the preface of 1853 Arnold borrows from Eckermann

the idea of two kinds of dilettanti in art: those having no thoughts of their own; and those who, having them, are unable to use them. The passage from which Arnold quotes is a remark from a letter of Mozart to which Goethe refers with distinct approval:

You dilettanti should be reproved, for either one of two things usually happen with you. You either have no ideas of your own, in which case you borrow them; or if you have ideas, you do not know how to treat them. (Eck., Vol. I., p. 188.)

Also, the main contention of the essay seems to have been suggested, or at least strengthened, by two passages in which the importance of the subject in poetry is insisted upon:

The whole art of modern times is in a bad way, since worthy subjects are lacking to the modern artist. (Eck., Vol. I., p. 65.)

No one seems to realize the fact that the true power and effectiveness of a poem consists in the situation, in the motifs. (Eck., Vol. I., p. 139.)

In the "Lectures on Translating Homer," Arnold's next prose work (1861), no passage occurs which throws further light on Goethe's influence. The same is true of the essays written in 1862. But in the next year, in the essay on Heine, Goethe is quoted and referred to with noteworthy reverence. Here Arnold quotes Goethe as having said that Heine "was deficient in love."⁹ But in the poem on "Heine's Grave" Arnold seemed to be no longer certain that Goethe did actually make this remark:

But was it thou? I think
Surely it was! that bard
Unnamed, who, Goethe said,
Had every other gift, but wanted love.¹⁰

The mistake which Arnold makes here, both in the essay and in the poem, is evidently due to a misapprehension of this passage:

We then spoke of Platen. "It is not to be denied," said Goethe, "he possesses many splendid qualities; but he is lacking in love." (Eck., Vol. I., p. 171.)

In the essay on "The Literary Influence of Academies" two quotations occur: "Was uns alle baendigt, das Gemeine,"

⁹ Essays in Criticism, Vol. I., p. 192. ¹⁰ Poems, p. 314.

from Goethe's *Epilog Zu Schiller's Glocke*, and a remark of Goethe that Byron's poems "are after all not so immoral as the newspapers."¹¹ In "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time" we have quotations, first,

Das Wenige verschwindet leicht dem Blicke
Der vorwaerts sieht wie viel noch uebrig bleibt!

from "Iphigenie auf Tauris." (Act 1, Sc. 2.) Also

Wenn das denken nur nicht so schwer waere. (Eck., Vol. I., p. 289.)

and Goethe's reproach of the French for "having thrown quiet culture back," which I cannot definitely place.

In 1867, in the essay "Democracy," in the course of a discussion on "doing as one likes," this sentence occurs:

It is a very great thing to be able to think as you like; but after all, an important question remains what you think.

Side by side with this, considering the tone of the whole essay, a passage from Goethe is significant:

To speak one's opinion right out, directly and rudely, can only be excused and considered well, if one is thoroughly in the right. (Eck., Vol. I., p. 264.)

The year 1869 produced "Culture and Anarchy." Here Arnold quotes Goethe's warning of the "eigenen grossen Erfindungen" (Eck., Vol. I, p. 48) of sectarians. In this book also occur Arnold's discussion of "whole and corner" forms of religion and their separation from the "main current of national life," and his denunciation of provincialism. The spirit of all this is summed up by Goethe:

We are all purely our own particular selves, no conformity is to be thought of. Each man has the opinions of his province, of his city, even of his own person; we may have to wait very long before achieving a kind of thorough culture, common to all. (Eck., Vol. II., p. 14.)

Here it may be mentioned, too, that the text of a great portion of "Friendship's Garland" is a phrase from Goethe: "Ernst der ins ganze geht." (Eck., Vol. I, p. 154.)

After "Friendship's Garland" appeared a number of works, notably "Literature and Dogma" and "God and the Bible,"

¹¹ The passage referred to occurs on page 96 of Vol. 28 of Goethe's works (Cotta's *Bibliothek der Weltliteratur*), in a review of "Don Juan." So, also, the saying of Goethe that he had been to the young German poets mainly a liberator, quoted in Arnold's essay on Heine, occurs on page 266, Vol. 27, in a short article called, "Noch ein Wort für Junge Dichter."

in which no significant quotations are found. Frequent mention of Goethe shows that his influence had not grown less during these years (1871-1879), but there is nothing sufficiently tangible to be exemplified.

In 1879, however, in the essay on Wordsworth, is an exposition of Goethe's ideal of conceiving, as Arnold states it, "the whole group of civilized nations as being, for intellectual and spiritual purposes, one great federation, bound to a joint action, and working toward a common result."

Of the many passages in Goethe concerning this, a few may be quoted:

National literature does not count for much nowadays, the era of the world-literature is at hand. (Eck., Vol. I., p. 232.)

The correction of one another (referring to the civilized nations)—that is the profit accruing from a world-literature. (Eck., Vol. II., p. 262.)

Compare also the essay, "Fernerer ueber Weltlitteratur." (Goethe's Works, Vol. 28, pp. 66-69.)

The essay on Wordsworth yields another quotation. Goethe says of Milton:

Not long ago I read his "Samson," which conforms to the spirit of the ancients as no other work of any modern poet does. He is truly great, . . . one should hold him in all reverence. (Eck., Vol. II., p. 124.)

The essay on Byron (1881) is remarkable for numerous quotations from Goethe. "If we take the two parts of Goethe's criticism of Byron," says Arnold, "the favorable and the unfavorable, and put them together, we shall have, I think, the truth." The quotations are Goethe's remarks on Byron, scattered throughout Eckermann.

Byron, whose personality was of an eminence such as did not exist before and will hardly be found again. (Eck., Vol. I., p. 54.)

Lord Byron is great only so long as he confines himself to pure poetry; so soon as he thinks, he is a child. (Eck., Vol. I., p. 180.)

He was far too much in the dark concerning himself. (Eck., Vol. I., p. 149.)

So much assuredly is certain, that the English can show no poet who is his parallel. He is different from all the others, and in the main greater. (Eck., Vol. I., p. 180.)

Byron is unquestionably to be considered the greatest talent of the century. (Eck., Vol. I., p. 261.)

Byron's boldness, daring, and grandiosity—is not all that educative?
 . . . Everything great educates as soon as we become conscious of it.
 (Eck., Vol. II., p. 37.)

A final mention of Goethe comes in the lecture on Emerson. Among the voices which "were in the air" in Oxford when Arnold was an undergraduate was that of Goethe. "The greatest voice of the century came to us in those youthful years through Carlyle: the voice of Goethe." This certainly, even more than the voices of Newman and Emerson, was "a possession to him forever."

So, if we pass Arnold's works in review, from "The Strayed Reveler and Other Poems" through the "Discourses in America," we find the unceasing stream of Goethe's influence. Yet, interesting as such tangible indications are, it is necessary to look beyond their literal meaning, it is necessary to feel their tone, if we would estimate their significance.

In a spirit of revolt against the extremes of Romanticism in literature Arnold found in Goethe a safe guide, a deeply satisfying model. He was penetrated with Goethe's precept of the importance of the subject in poetry, and with Goethe's example that literature and, above all, poetry should be calm without, but pregnant with hidden power. Arnold was a "classic" writer if one may use that threadbare term; first, indeed, by a study of Greek literature, but almost in an equal degree by a study and thorough comprehension of Goethe's work and thought.

Finally, there was a community of spirit between Goethe and Arnold, deeper and wider than can be evidenced by opinions borrowed. What was inherently common to both was a hatred of coarseness on the side of morals and feeling¹² of unintelligence on the side of mind and spirit,¹³ and of dull and immovable self-satisfaction.

The barren optimistic sophistries
 Of comfortable moles, whom what they do
 Teaches the limits of the just and true.¹⁴

To both was hateful that narrowness of mental view which busies itself with nonessentials, and neglects "the best and

¹² Celtic Literature. ¹³ Ibid. ¹⁴ Poems, p. 6.

master thing."¹⁵ These on the negative side. On the positive, a love of light, a passion for ideas stronger than in other men, and lastly an insistence on that culture which "places human perfection in an internal condition"¹⁶ and enables man to see things as they really are. And in this connection a belief in the formative power of literature and its power of "turning a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits."¹⁷

All these elements springing from the very nature of Goethe and Arnold are summed up by the former in one phrase that gives the motive power of the life and work of both. Goethe, when asked his opinion of the French, said:

I have never hated the French. How indeed could I, to whom only culture and barbarism are things that matter, how could I have hated a nation which belongs to the most cultivated, and to which I owe so great a part of my own culture? (Eck., Vol. III., p. 223.)

Here is the spirit which kept Goethe calm and self-contained amid the turmoil of the French Revolution, and it is the same spirit that informs "Culture and Anarchy." The vital questions of life are not whether we can think as we like or do as we like, for "all the liberty and industry in the world will not insure . . . a high reason and a fine culture;"¹⁸ the vital concern is not only "to walk by the best light we have,"¹⁹ but to have a care that that light be not darkness."²⁰ All that really matters is, are we intellectually in light or in darkness? Have we "Kultur" or "Barbarei?"

So it is evident that Arnold fell under Goethe's influence, not by chance, but because there was a natural relation between his mind and that of his master. Certainly the unquestioned zeal for light, for spiritual perfection, is born in a man and cannot be instilled. Macaulay, to whom the machinery of English government was something in itself sacred and beautiful, whose millennium was approaching with the

¹⁵ *Essays in Criticism*, 2.

¹⁶ *Culture and Anarchy*.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Democracy*.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* ²⁰ *Ibid.*

cheapness of food stuffs, could never have felt the influence of Goethe. It was this similarity of nature which enabled Arnold in many of his writings to interpret Goethe's works to the English public better than any critic had ever done. He did not effect this by direct criticism or exposition, but by the tone and aim of his own work.

This influence of Goethe on Arnold has never been sufficiently insisted upon, yet we cannot understand Arnold or estimate his true worth without taking into account that in "Culture and Anarchy," "Friendship's Garland," and the essay on "Democracy" he is the child of Goethe's ideas.

III.

Arnold speaks of "influences impalpable, spiritual, viewless,"²¹ and acknowledges their power. Many such were at work upon him, molding his mind or strengthening his natural tendencies. With these it is not always possible to point out opinions borrowed, or distinct thoughts that became part of his mental outfit. One must feel them rather than see them, and cannot even then give them a sure expression. Goethe's influence was of this nature also, but then it had another side of it, that of particular passages and sayings absorbed by Arnold. And it is this side which the passages from Eckermann have perhaps served to illustrate.

The second great influence, that of Wordsworth, is far more impalpable and viewless, though certainly not more spiritual. Arnold felt the power of Wordsworth very early. As he himself says: "It is not for nothing that one has been brought up in veneration of a man so truly worthy of homage; that one has seen him and heard him, lived in his neighborhood, and been familiar with his country."²² These early impressions no doubt influenced the nature of his poetry, even more his theory of poetry. For, though the influence in its latter manifestation lasted, not so in its former. Among the early poems, the sonnets on Shakespeare and "To a Republican Friend," as well as "Myrcerinus" and the last part of

²¹ Democracy. ²² Essays in Criticism, II., Wordsworth.

"The Church of Brou," are thoroughly characteristic of Arnold's peculiar manner. Faint Wordsworthian echoes occur in "The Gypsy Child on the Seashore," as they also do occasionally in later poems. Very rarely—indeed, I can find no second example—is the echo so strong as in the lines in "Empedocles" pointed out by Mr. Swinburne:

But we received the shocks of mighty thoughts
On simple hearts with a pure, natural joy.

But it was upon Arnold the critic that Wordsworth exerted his full power. Wordsworth's work was esteemed by Arnold as "the most considerable poetical performance in our language from the Elizabethan age to the present time,"²³ and it certainly seems to have determined Arnold's standard of poetic excellence. "The noble and profound application of ideas to life is the most essential part of poetic greatness,"²⁴ not so much because it actually is, but because Wordsworth's greatness does consist of it. And this is natural. Our theories of poetry and art are not mathematical; they have flesh and blood. We do not approve of a certain poet because he fits our theory; but our theory is the practice of the poets whom we love. The definition of poetry as a criticism of life has its origin in Wordsworth's work.

These two prime influences that I have spoken of, while apparently very different, have a hidden unity, a unity based upon the full realization of the power of man's inner life and upon the plea that this inner life be cultivated and purged of crudity. The burden of Wordsworth is "moral strength and intellectual power,"²⁵ and "knowledge the noblest wealth."²⁶ To him there was "a grandeur in the beatings of the heart."²⁷ And Goethe speaks of "gemeinsame Ausbildung menschlicher Kraefte;"²⁸ and again, as in the extracts above, of "ruhige Ausbildung" and "allgemeine Durchbildung." The trend of "Wilhelm Meister" is the same. "Hier oder nirgends

²³ *Essays in Criticism*, II., Wordsworth.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Fragments from Recluse.*

²⁶ *Excursion.*

²⁷ *Infl. o. nat. obj.*

²⁸ *Eck.*, Vol. I., p. 155.

ist America." This too, we shall see, is the fundamental thought of Arnold which he returns to again and again, "Guard the fire within."²⁹ In one important respect, however, Arnold went beyond both Wordsworth and Goethe. Their centering upon the inner life, their lack of interest in the machinery of war, of government, of creed, were passive; Arnold's were active, and from this activity sprang his political writings.

Other strong influences from English sources do not appear. Wordsworth alone left a lasting mark. Traces of Burke occur, but Burke was to Arnold rather an illustrious example of favorite views than a power to shape them. Politics, said Arnold, should be "treated with one's thoughts or with one's imagination or with one's soul, in place of the common treatment of them with one's Philistinism and with one's passions."³⁰ Again, "Burke is so great because, almost alone in England, he brings thoughts to bear upon politics, he saturates politics with thoughts."³¹ Other references to Burke occur in the essays on Irish affairs, where his phrase that the measures adopted toward Ireland must "be healing" is adopted and dwelt upon. A few other references, such as his definition of the state, occur in the essays on "Democracy" and "Equality."³²

Emerson made a deep but transitory impression, of which, however, no particular traces are visible; and Franklin's solid saneness aroused Arnold's admiration.³³

The most vital influences, however, came, like that of Goethe, from the Continent. Thoroughly awake to what he rightly or wrongly considered the incompleteness of English character, Arnold found reflected in French and German literature the qualities lacking in England. Even to the great Englishmen a study of Continental thought would have been salutary. Even Wordsworth would have been greater had

²⁹ *Poems*, p. 253.

³⁰ *Let.*, 1864.

³¹ *Essays in Criticism*, I., p. 41.

³² *Mixed Essays and Irish Essays*, pp. 31, 65, 283.

³³ *Cult. a. Anar.*

he read more, had he read "Goethe, whom he disparaged without reading him."³⁴ The neglect and contempt of Continental thought was one of the severest arraignments which Arnold brought against his opponents. "Don't let us trouble ourselves about foreign thought," he makes them say; "we shall invent the whole thing for ourselves as we go along."³⁵

The chief qualities that Arnold valued in Continental literature were, "living by ideas," "independent criticism," "intellectual delicacy," "disinterestedness," and a regard for truth for its own sake, and not because it fits in with the tenets of one's creed or party.³⁶ It was therefore as a humanizing power for English character that Arnold valued the literatures of France and Germany.

Feeling so deeply as he did the darkness of "the prison of Puritanism,"³⁷ in which the spirit of his countrymen had been locked for two hundred years; and considering that "the great need of our time is the transformation of the British Puritan,"³⁸ it is natural that Arnold fell under the influence of that powerful and impetuous spirit whose life work was an arraignment of the loss of beauty and loss of human joy which Hebraism had brought into the world. Arnold insisted strongly, no doubt, upon the limitations of Heine's view of life,³⁹ but England needed such views as a corrective. Now was the time to Hellenize.

At first Arnold does not seem to have appreciated Heine. A mere trickster⁴⁰ he thought him, but later the influence became deep and lasting. In the "Reisebilder" Arnold found a description of English shortcomings the influence of which is distinctly visible in his own descriptions of later years. There are Heine's brilliant invectives against English "Gesell-

³⁴ *Essays in Criticism*, Vol. I., p. 7.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Mixed Essays*.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Essays in Criticism*, Vol. I., Essay on Heine.

⁴⁰ Letts., 1848, Vol. I.

schaftliche Unbehoeftenheit,"⁴¹ "the lack of social life and manners," against

diesen baren Ernst aller Dinge, diese colossale Einförmigkeit, diese machinenhafte Bewegung, diese Verdriesslichkeit der Freude selbst.⁴²

All this impressed Arnold, who found in the common life of Puritanic England all that "is mean or vulgar or hideous."⁴³ Another passage that probably impressed Arnold was that in which Heine remarks on Parliament and on the English impenetrability to ideas and hatred of abstract principles:

Selten in ihren parlamentarischen Verhandlungen ist es den Engländern möglich, ein Princip auszusprechen, sie discutieren nur den Nutzen oder Schaden der Dinge und bringen Facta, die einen pro, die anderen contra, zum Vorschein.⁴⁴

Compare with this Arnold:

The Englishman has been called a political animal, and he values what is political and practical so much that ideas easily become objects of dislike in his eyes and thinkers "miscreants," because ideas and thinkers rashly meddle with politics and practice. . . . The dislike and neglect . . . are inevitably extended to ideas as such, to the life of intelligence; practice is everything, a free play of the mind nothing.⁴⁵

Concerning English eccentricity in religious matters, Heine says:

Sobald man das Gespräch auf Religion lenkt, wird der gescheiteste Engländer nichts als Dummheiten zu Tage fordern.

It is perhaps not too much to say that Heine strengthened Arnold's consciousness of the most characteristic defects of English character.

Hebraism and Hellenism, the two great spiritual forces, Arnold saw embodied in living exposition for the first time in Heine. Here is Heine's clearest definition:

Alle Menschen sind entweder Juden oder Hellenen, Menschen mit asketischen, bildfeinlichen vergeistungssuechtigen Trieben, oder Menschen mit lebensheiterem, entfaltungsstolzem und realistischem Wesen.⁴⁶

Arnold's definition is somewhat different:

⁴¹ Reisebilder. Engl. Frag., p. 3.

⁴² Ibid, p. 7.

⁴³ Cult. a. Anar., p. 143.

⁴⁴ Reisebilder, p. 59.

⁴⁵ Essays in Criticism, Vol. I., Function of Criticism.

⁴⁶ H. Heine ueber L. Børne, Bk. 3.

The uppermost idea with Hellenism is to seek things as they really are; the uppermost idea with Hebraism is conduct and obedience. . . . The governing idea of Hellenism is spontaneity of conscience; that of Hebraism strictness of conscience. . . . The Greek quarrel with the body and its desires is that that they hinder right thinking; the Hebrew with them is that they hinder right acting.⁴⁷

It is evident that Heine dwells chiefly upon the character of Hebraists and Hellenists as men, Arnold upon their modes for attaining perfection. But the conclusion of the whole matter as Arnold saw it is foreshadowed in Heine. Neither discipline alone is wholly good. One serves best at one period, one at another; but the blending of both is a desired consummation. "Ist vielleicht?" asks Heine, "solche harmonische Vermischung der beiden Elemente die Aufgabe der ganzen Europäischen Civilisation."⁴⁸

Arnold's stressing of method in the pursuit of perfection is to be in part attributed to another influence, that of Rénan. "Hellenism," says Rénan, "is the ideal of perfection realized by grace in literature, art, and philosophy."⁴⁹ This gives to some extent the source of Arnold's attitude. His definition of Hebraism and Hellenism is wider and more suggestive than Rénan's, but it is nearer to the latter's in tone and scope than Heine's. Rénan also was suggestive of English faults to Arnold:

Stupidity and mediocrity are the bane of certain Protestant countries where, under the pretext of common sense and Christian spirit, art and science are both absolutely degraded.⁵⁰

Other references to Rénan without importance for the present purpose occur in "Saint Paul and Protestantism" and "Literature and Dogma."

A greater influence than Rénan's seems to have been Sainte Beuve's,⁵¹ "one of my chief benefactors,"⁵² Arnold calls him.

⁴⁷ Cult. a. Anar.

⁴⁸ H. Heine, *ueber L. Børne*, Bk. 2.

⁴⁹ *The Apostles*, p. 49.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁵¹ I have already spoken of my lack of accessible material in the case of Rénan and especially of Sainte-Beuve; see I.

⁵² *Dis. in America*.

A few identical opinions are interesting. Arnold says in a well-known passage: "In poetry . . . our race as time goes on will find an ever surer and surer stay."⁵³ Similarly Sainte-Beuve: "Malgré ses goûts positifs et ses délaïns apparants le public a besoin et surtout avant peu de temps aura besoin de poesie."⁵⁴ But more striking than this, Arnold says: "A great poet receives his distinctive superiority from his application . . . of ideas

On man, on nature, and on human life."⁵⁵

So Sainte-Beuve on the same subject:

L'originalité des grands poëts, on le sait, consiste surtout à voir et à exprimer la nature, la vie et les hommes par un coté intime et nouveau.⁵⁶

Finally an influence, not from books but from life, the influence upon Arnold of his father. That Dr. Arnold was much concerned for the conditions of the middle classes is evident, though it is difficult to say whether this exerted a strong influence on his son. In an essay on "The Education of the Middle Classes," Dr. Arnold says: "I should regard their power as the worst of evils, if true knowledge were not to accompany it." And again: "It seems to me that the education of the middle classes is a question of the greatest national importance."

To the influence of his father a frequently noted characteristic of Arnold's poetry is also to be attributed. There is in his poetry an occasional break in the calmness of his spiritual strength and a deep regret for the ideals which he had discarded. These ideals ruled in the world of Arnold's youth, the world exhibited in Dean Stanley's biography of Dr. Arnold. The evidence of this is plain in the well-known "Stanzas on the Grand Chartreuse," where Arnold attributes his regret for the dying faith to the influences of his youth.

⁵³ *Essays in Criticism*, Vol. II.

⁵⁴ *Premiers Causeries*, Vol. I., p. 168.

⁵⁵ *Essays in Criticism*, Vol. II.

⁵⁶ *Premiers Causeries*, Vol. I., p. 114.

Fenced early in this cloistral ground
Of reverie, of shade, of prayer,
How should we grow on other ground?
How can we flower in foreign air?⁵⁷

To sum up the foregoing: Goethe strengthened the central idea of Arnold's works, the importance of man's inner life and its development by culture. Heine and Rénan influenced Arnold's discussions of Hellenism and Hebraism and his descriptions of the latter's characteristic defects. Wordsworth strongly influenced his theory of poetry; and to his father is due that love which, in spite of himself, caused Arnold to regret so deeply the ideals that were passing away.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN.

⁵⁷ Stanzas from the Grand Chartreuse.